

The Young Paiea

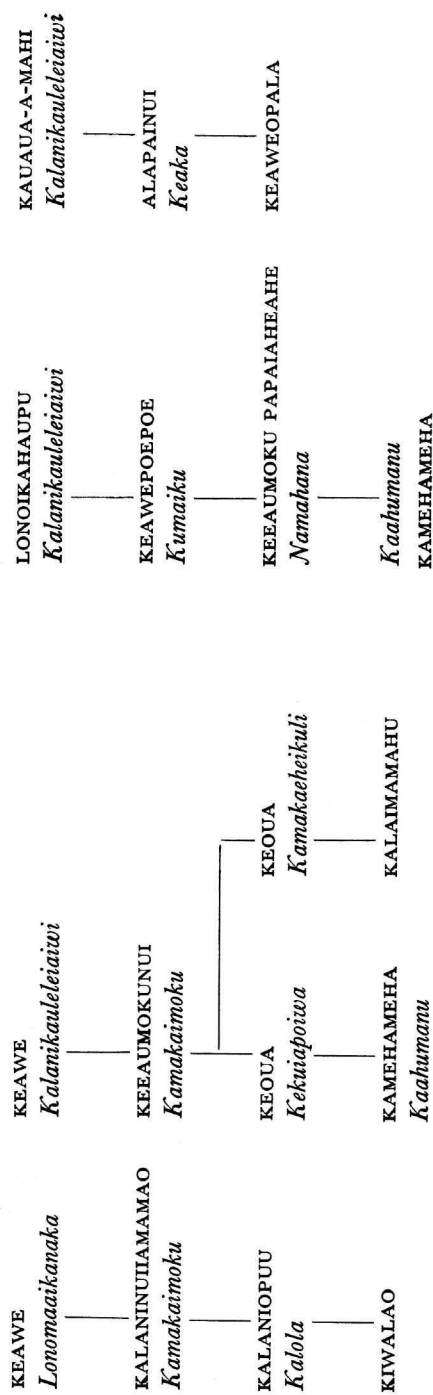
Jane Silverman

In Hawaii, when men gather to talk of olden times and chant the deeds of warriors and priests, they soon begin to tell of the men of the prosperous land of Kohala. They tell of the bravery, skill and daring of the warrior Mahiololi and of Paao, the stranger priest from across the wide ocean who brought his two gods to the heiau of Mookini. Even among these much praised men, one stood above the rest. That one was the young warrior chief, whose steadfastness earned him the name Paiea (hard-shelled crab), and who, as Kamehameha (the Lonely One), seized the rule of this whole chain of islands and held it through the early shock of contact with alien cultures and foreign power.¹

The young growing years of the man were before the days of the written world. Each man who told of Kamehameha told of what he had seen or heard or imagined and no man's story was the same but held within it the shadow of the teller's own hopes and ambitions. Once Kamehameha's fame had been achieved, amazing happenings began to cluster around his name, shaping the beginnings of his life to fit its triumphant end. His exceptional character was set aside as though there had been no growth, no skill, no chance, no struggle; but that all had been ordained by the gods. Kamehameha himself believed his life was guided by the gods and faithfully gave sacrifices of pigs and enemy dead to sustain the gods and himself in the drive for power. He was born among the highest chiefs in a land where blood lines and the sacred kapus they carried were essential to success. But he could not remain even second. The passion of a young man's ambition and a character of extraordinary energy and intensity moved him to chance his life in a flamboyant and arrogant gesture reaching for power.²

Jane Silverman is State Parks Historian, State of Hawaii.

RELATIONSHIPS OF RULING CHIEFS DURING THE YOUTH OF KAMEHAMEHA



CAPITALS .. male
italics .. female

Names are repeated because the individual had children by more than one spouse.

On the night of Kamehameha's birth there may have been a bright and beautiful star in the heavens as tradition says; but it would not have been seen, for the stormy winds and rains of Ikuwa (October-November) had come even to the sun dried coast of North Kohala. The small white coral beach at the inlet of Koaie was crowded with the war canoes of Alapai. Of the people of that village, perhaps some were mauka (upland) huddling from the rain under the windbreak rows of cane and ti that stretched across the slopes to protect their taro and sweet potato fields. They may have been worn with the work of digging food to furnish the warriors who would soon set out for an expedition against Kekaulike, the ruling *alii-nui* of Maui. Others of the village of Koaie may have been putting the drying fish under shelter. At Koaie, the tail of the army fleet gathered; but its body stretched along the coast to Kapaa and Hihiau and its head lay encamped at Puuepa. There, Alapai, *alii-nui* of the Island of Hawaii, established his headquarters at Kokoiki while the leaders of his army called out to all the districts of the island for men and supplies.³

After Alapai of the house of Mahi of Kohala had defeated the heirs of Hawaii's ruling chief, Keawe, and taken control of the Island, Kekaulike of Maui came across the channel and harassed the villages of Kona and Kohala, probing for an invasion. Alapai's fleet pursued and turned back the Maui canoes. Then Alapai hurried to Kohala to take the offensive and invade Maui before Kekaulike could refit and attack.⁴

The leaders of Alapai's army were two young chiefs who had been brought up in his court, the older, Kalaniopuu and the younger, Keoua. They were half-brothers with the same mother and their dead fathers had been half-brothers, the defeated heirs of Keawe.⁵

On this stormy night of Ikuwa, the wife of the younger chief Keoua gave birth to a child. This woman's name was Kekuiapoiwa and she came of the Mahi family of Kohala. Hawaiian historians say that this birth took place at Kapakai in Kokoiki where the chiefs of the army camped and it may be so, for in those days the women of chiefly blood and great mana travelled with the army.⁶

The child born that night in 1758 was Kamehameha. It is most likely that after being bathed in sea water, the new chief would have been carried up the sloping field to where the twenty foot stone walls of the heiau of Mookini loomed over the landscape. If the traditional rituals for a high chief were followed, his father Keoua would have carried him into the heiau enclosure where he and the kahuna (priest) would have sent their prayers to the gods of heaven

and the gods of earth and to the god images of the temple asking a long and full life for the child, as the pig, coconuts and tapa malo (loincloth) were offered and the navel cord cut.⁷

The baby was placed in the care of a *kahu* (guardian). He was Naeole, a chief of Halawa, the district in Kohala where Kamehameha's family lands were. Kamehameha's father was gone for several years with the army of Alapai on wars of conquest to Maui and Molokai, where Keoua led part of the army to victory, and to Oahu where Kauai joined with Oahu to force a truce before the battle began. When Alapai returned to Hawaii, the child Kamehameha lived in his court. Kamehameha was about five years old when he became the crucial counter in a power struggle, an arena in which he would become a master. The court of Alapai was in the Hilo district when Keoua, Kamehameha's father, fell ill and died. Rumors began to circulate. Some remembered that Alapai had killed Keoua's father, the rightful heir to the kingdom of Keawe. They whispered that Alapai had caused the death of Keoua, though no one said whether by poison or by prayer. Kalaniopuu, half-brother of Keoua, made careful plans to steal his brother's child, Kamehameha, who inherited whatever tenuous claim Keoua had to the lands of Kona and Kohala. Kalaniopuu had his war canoe brought around secretly to wait for him. Then he, his younger half-brother and a few trusted friends went to the house where the chiefs were wailing over the body of Keoua. Kalaniopuu tried to steal the child Kamehameha away but the followers of Alapai fought and Kalaniopuu fled to the waiting canoe. After several battles in force, Kalaniopuu withdrew to Puna and Kau to set up an independent area.⁸

Kamehameha and his mother remained with the court of Alapai until that ruler died at Kawaihae two years later. Alapai left the kingdom to his son Keaweopala. His younger son Keeaumoku Papaiaahehe revolted against the decision. Then Keeaumoku took his followers to join Kalaniopuu and together they marched to contest the inheritance. The battle between the army of Kalaniopuu and that of Keaweopala took place on the rugged lava fields between Keei and Honaunau. Keaweopala was slain and Kalaniopuu became *alii-nui* of the whole of Hawaii. Kamehameha, being still a child, came under the protection of Kalaniopuu. Historian John Ii says that Kamehameha was sent by his mother to Kalaniopuu.⁹

After a time Kalaniopuu came to Kealakekua and took Kamehameha and his half-brother Kalaimamahu to live in Kau at his court. John Ii thought that this was done because Kamehameha's



mother, Kekuiapoiwa, had died. While at Kau Kamehameha was taught the sports of chiefs: boxing, surfing, sledding, sham fighting, *maika* bowling, jumping into the water and the guessing game of hiding the stone under tapa bundles. Kalaniopuu sent to South Kona for a warrior named Kekuhaupio whose skill at spear dodging and throwing had become famous. He was well liked by the chiefs and trained Kamehameha in the handling of weapons. He taught him well, for when Kamehameha led his side in sham battles with hau wood spears against the opposing side of Kiwalao, Kalaniopuu's oldest son, Kamehameha's side always won. That is the story told by historian John Ii who was a companion to Kamehameha's son, Liholiho.¹⁰

During this time at Kau Kamehameha was initiated into the skills of love making. First his brother and then Kamehameha were taken as lovers by Kaneikapolei, the wife of Kalaniopuu. But for Kamehameha love of surfing surpassed all other attractions and he disappeared from court for days while he lived on the beach watching and riding the waves.¹¹

The first few years of his rule Kalaniopuu spent organizing the government and collecting war supplies. Then Kalaniopuu made a surprise attack on the Hana district of Maui. He captured its prize, the fortified hill of Kauiki on the harbor and took the districts of Hana and Kipahulu. This success may have sharpened his appetite. From then almost to his death he was continuously either preparing for attack or attacking.¹²

In truth, his only great victories were against the unprotected country folk of Kaupo and Lanai. Kahekili, leader of Maui, outmaneuvered and defeated him whenever their forces met, which only seemed to increase Kalaniopuu's stubbornness to win. Kalaniopuu would attack with cunning, recklessly expending his forces, but he had no staying power. As when he attempted to steal Kamehameha from Alapai's court, Kalaniopuu's Maui attacks usually ended with Kalaniopuu scrambling to his war canoes without having obtained the object for which he came. In just such a route, Kamehameha, about seventeen years old, won his first fame as a warrior.¹³

Kalaniopuu invaded the Kaupo district, hoping to extend his hold on Maui. His men beat the local people on the head and seized their property. Kahekili, Maui's ruler, sent an army to their defense. Two battles were fought and Kalaniopuu's forces began to retreat. As the Hawaii soldiers fought their way to the canoes lying waiting at the point of Ka-lae-o-ka-ilio, the Maui army positioned itself

directly in the line of escape. As the Hawaii soldiers came up a long hill, the Maui men caught them in the furrows and between the hills of sweet potatoes and slaughtered them. Kekuhaupio, the most famous warrior of the Hawaii army and the man who had taught Kamehameha his skill with dodging and throwing the long spears, held off the attack and was covering the retreat. Then suddenly he became entangled in the potato vines and was immobilized. Kamehameha saw his danger and rushed men to his rescue and they stood fighting at Paauhau, giving the men time to reach the canoes. It is said that the chiefs of Maui gave to Kamehameha his name Paiea (hardshelled crab), perhaps for his invincible defense.¹⁴

On the next invasion of Maui, Kalaniopuu's men marched across the central plains to take Wailuku. The special elite 800-man Alapa Division was annihilated by ambush in the Sand Hills. The disaster was so great that Kalaniopuu had to send his son Kiwalao through the lines to Kahekili to sue for peace. Kiwalao's kapus were so sacred that all the warriors on both sides had to prostrate themselves as he passed by so that the battle came to an end. Where Kamehameha was that day is not known, but Kekuhaupio again earned fame for taunting the skilled sling stone marksman of Kahekili and dodging the stones.¹⁵

Kalaniopuu could not rest with the truce and again sailed from Hawaii, raided the Kaupo district of Maui and went on to Lahaina. The Hawaii warriors pursued the Maui forces to their fortress Kahili on the high hill Paupau above Lahaina. There Kekuhaupio and Kamehameha advanced within a spear's throw of the fort, where Kekuhaupio was caught in the thigh with a spear from a two handed thrower. The first throw he dodged, but the second came immediately with lightning speed and precision. Perhaps Kamehameha again rescued him. For his fighting that day, Kamehameha was honored by the sarcasm of his enemies who called him "a bit of a soldier" and "a little fellow" and by a mele composed by one of his admirers.

E Ku e pehea la?

O Ku! how was it?

Pehea ua lani hou, alii hou?

How about the new heavenly one,
the new chief?

Lani hou a laua i hanau ai,
eia hoi,

The new chief who has been born,
here he is!

Eia ua lani loa, alii loa,

Here is the heavenly one, the
chief of long lineage,

Lani o ka maka o Haloa,

Heavenly one of the bud of Haloa,

Eia ua lani o Haloa e na moku

Here is that heavenly one of
Haloa, O islands!

E pili ai ka hanu me he la
ua la,

Who will make one catch one's
breath on a rainy day
Because of the tabu of Ke-aka.¹⁶

I ke kapu o Ke-aka.

Kalaniopuu took the war to Lanai where all the food of the island was devoured and they were reduced to chewing a wild plant root for food. This root had a laxative effect and gave that campaign its name Ka-moku-hi (land of loose bowels). After returning to forage for food at Lahaina, Kalaniopuu's army sailed to attack Hamaualoa. There again Kahekili's army met them and forced the Hawaii soldiers to flee to their canoes. The Hawaii canoes rounded the point of the island and landed again at the Koolau district. In that place, according to Kamakau, the Hawaiian historian, they "slew the common people and maltreated the captives by urinating into their eyes." These campaigns on Maui and Lanai fully established the battle resourcefulness and daring of Kamehameha and his name was spoken together with that of his tutor in warfare, Kekuhaupio.¹⁷

While resting at Koolau, Maui, the event happened which was so amazing that it could only be accepted as in its nature marvelous, a matter for the discussion of priests and soothsayers. This was the appearance of the English ships of exploration, the *Resolution* and *Discovery*. News of the visit of the ships to Kauai had preceded them. The description of the *moku* (floating islands), of the strange inhabitants, the way they looked and the way they talked were a rich source for imitations. The terrifying skyrockets and cannons the ships fired at Kauai were described in terms of the gods: the flashes, as the "fires of Lonomakua" and the sound, as "Kane in the thunder." The priest of Kalaniopuu in conference with the chiefs thought this might be Lono, the god, come back to them.¹⁸

When the *moku* of Cook appeared off the coast of Maui, Kalaniopuu had himself dressed in his yellow and black feather cloak and helmet. Seated in his war canoe in the midst of his fleet, he put off to greet the ships with a welcoming gift of two or three small pigs. Cook, seeing the canoes following, stood to meet them. A ship's boat stationed itself fore and aft of the ships, delegated to trade for the supplies of breadfruit, taro, bananas, and a few coconuts brought by the canoes. But the canoes had not come just to trade. The Hawaii men made it clear to the ships that they were escorting a "very great chief" and they handed Kalaniopuu in a very careful and "official" manner up to the deck of the *Resolution*. Kalaniopuu, prematurely aged with trembling limbs and the scaly, peeling and scabby skin and enflamed eyes of an inveterate awa drinker, presented the ceremonial

pigs and his feather cloak to Captain Cook. He was conducted to Captain Cook's ornately decorated, spacious great cabin with its light flowing in from seven windows. Cook made return gifts while Kalaniopuu sat looking keenly at everything with a "good natured smile." After a visit of an hour or two, he returned to his canoe and sailed back to Maui.¹⁹

Kamehameha stayed aboard. So did one of Kalaniopuu's sons and two other chiefs with a canoe towed astern. As the ships stood away from land for the night, Kalanipuu became concerned for his chiefs, wailing for their departure, thinking perhaps they had sailed away with their god Lono to his home in Kahiki. He sent a large double canoe with six or eight men after the ships which came up with them at evening. They were allowed to tie their canoe to the ship and come aboard for the night. It was said that Kamehameha stayed to show his bravery. In fact, the officers were surprised and impressed that the Hawaiians entrusted themselves to the ships without showing fear of being harmed by strangers. Kamehameha was a young man trained to physical bravery, accustomed to excel in all he did. He would have little reason to show fear of men and if he believed the gods, not only had the proper rituals been observed, but the gods had always lavished their favors on him. He could not have imagined all of the outside world these haoles had seen, but he was well aware of his own worth in all the world he knew. When morning came, Kamehameha and his companions chose not to continue with the ships to the island of Hawaii, but told them they would find good people and plentiful supplies there. Great was Kalaniopuu's relief when the canoes returned bringing his son, Kamehameha and the others.²⁰

Captain Cook's policy was to save stores and prevent scurvy by trading for the products of the land, not staying in one location long enough to deplete that place's supply. On Hawaii, the ships traded first at North Kohala where the people watched the sailors on the ships eat watermelon and were struck with how ferocious they were devouring the flesh of men. Here the sailors began to strip their uniforms of buttons to sew on pieces of red cloth as dazzling gifts for the girls. The ships circled Hawaii, alternately trading and standing off until they came upon Kealahou Bay and went in to make ships' repairs and take astronomical observations. On the flat, barren side of the bay, they found a large village, Kaawaloa, of

"Kalaniopuu, with Kamehameha in attendance, bearing gifts to Captain Cook." (Original drawing by John Webber, reproduced by permission of the B. P. Bishop Museum.)

three hundred houses and, separated from it by a sheer pali (cliff) at the bottom of the bay, was another village, Kealakekua (now called Napoopoo) of twice that size. The larger village lay along the shore among the coconut trees; its tent-shaped, coarse grass houses were grouped in random patterns intersected by paved pathways and small raised platforms for beating tapa cloth. The hillsides behind the bay were covered with cultivated gardens bordered by low stone walls.²¹

The priests who lived around the pond next to Hikiau heiau at Napoopoo were the principle diplomatic contact with the ships. They escorted and fawned on Captain Cook, cared for the observatory crew living ashore and generously supplied the ships with provisions. It was the *makahiki* season, the time when warfare ceased and the religious observances for the triumphant return of Lono took place. And here, Lono himself had come to the festival, the year earlier at Kauai and this year at Hawaii. The priests performed elaborate ceremonies over Cook at Hikiau heiau and gave their offerings as he balanced precariously on the shakey oracle tower with the priest.²²

One morning, silence came over the bay. It was empty of canoes. No people were visible. News of Kalaniopuu's expected arrival had come and a kapu was clamped on by the priests. Lt. King, who lived in the astronomer's tent ashore next to Hikiau heiau, was curious to see the great personage that was held in so much "awe." The hundred and fifty canoes of the army returned from Maui at nightfall. Kalaniopuu made an informal visit to Cook aboard the *Resolution*, taking with him his wife Kaneikapolei, their two young sons, Kamehameha, and other chiefs. Kamehameha followed Kalaniopuu onto the deck, saw the young chief Palea there and forced him off the ship. Palea had acted as host to the ships before Kalaniopuu returned from Maui, but Kamehameha treated his presence aboard as an insult. Palea said afterwards that he was afraid Kamehameha was going to kill him. John Law, ship's surgeon, suggested that there was rivalry between the two. The incident was also cited to show the arrogance of rank in the hierarchy of chiefs for what Kamehameha had done to Palea, Palea himself had done earlier to a lesser chief.²³

The next day Lt. King, watching from the observatory, could see three large canoes put off from the Kaawaloa side of the bay where the chiefs lived. The first canoe carried Kalaniopuu and other chiefs arrayed in their feather cloaks, intoning chants and accompanied by their feather war god images. In the second canoe rode the priest

Koa and four large wooden images stretched the length of the canoe an wrapped in tapa and the third canoe was filled with food. The three canoes passed around the ships, then came to land in front of the astronomer's tent where Captain Cook came ashore and met them. Lt. King was amazed to find that Kalaniopuu was the infirm old man who had visited them off Maui and his principle attendants were the chiefs who had stayed aboard overnight. Inside the tent, Kalaniopuu took the feather cape off his own tall, thin body and threw it over Captain Cook's shoulders, put a feather cap on his head and a kahili in his hand. Five or six more cloaks were laid at Cook's feet and four large hogs were presented. Kamehameha was the man in charge of the ceremony and conducted it in "somewhat of an overbearing spirit," to Lt. King's mind. Kamehameha had his hair properly dressed for the occasion, plastered down with a grey-brown paste mixed with powder which accentuated "as savage a looking face as I ever saw." Kalaniopuu always paid great attention to Kamehameha. Surgeon David Samwell called him Kalaniopuu's "favourite", though he couldn't see why. Kamehameha appeared to Samwell as "clownish and blackguard." But Lt. King, who got to know Kamehameha fairly well, thought his disposition belied his looks in being "good natured & humorous."²⁴

After an exchange of names at the tent, Cook took Kalaniopuu and his retinue aboard to receive presents. There were several other visits that week to dinner and to breakfast and to spend the evening on both ships. Kalaniopuu also spread an elaborate feast ashore for Captain Cook at his enclosure at Kaawaloa. Entertainments were offered by both sides. The English sailors didn't feel up to becoming contestants in the Hawaiian's boxing contest and the Hawaiians fled in panic at the English fire rocket display. Kamehameha was probably involved in all the visting and had ample opportunity, regardless of the views of the priests as to the sacred character of Cook, to make his own assessment of the value of their visitors.²⁵

On the night of February 12, 1779 when the ships returned to Kealakekua Bay to repair a mast, the wind fell off and the *Discovery* could not get into the harbor. Kamehameha and his attendants came out and stayed overnight. He arrived dressed in a splendid feather cloak and immediately set about bartering it for metal daggers. He demanded nine daggers as long as his arm in exchange the cloak. These were given to him. the armourers who had begun by fashioning small metal adzes for trade, now turned exclusively to manufacturing weapons. The Hawaiians refused to trade for

anything else. Kamehameha quickly grasped the advantage of gaining a good supply of advanced war weapons for his principal role was that of a warrior and such weapons could mean victory²⁶.

It is impossible to determine what part Kamehameha had in the chaotic melee in which Captain Cook lost his life, but only his absence from the scene would account for his not being involved. He was in constant attendance upon Kalaniopuu and in moments of decision, he usually took the leading part. It was said that Kekuhaupio, Kamehameha's warrior comrade, was awarded the skull of Cook and Kamehameha was given the hair, in ceremonies performed for the dead that night at Puhina-o-Lono, the small walled heiau just up the hill behind Kaawaloa where Cook was killed. The metal daggers of the haoles had found their first fateful use.²⁷

Kamehameha also learned the efficacy of another of the English weapons, the cannon. The day after Cook's death, while negotiations over the return of the body were being carried out between ship and shore, a man wearing Cook's hat and throwing rocks approached the ship in a canoe. People gathered on the flat at Kaawaloa, laughed and jeered, which goaded the *Resolution* into firing its cannon. One of the shots passed close to Kamehameha, shattered stone and threw a fragment which wounded Kamehameha in the face. Here was a weapon fierce enough to penetrate the hard-shelled protection of Paiea. After Kamehameha became king, whenever he was in a position to trade with foreigners, it was his obsession to obtain ships and cannons.²⁸

After the English ships left, Kalaniopuu did not sail to any more wars. He was growing old and, perhaps as Hawaiian historian Kamakau suggests, senile. His court moved first to Kailua, Kona, where large entertainments of hula dancing became Kalaniopuu's passion. He would stand in front of rows of dancers, urging the drummers on to a wilder and wilder tempo. When famine hit the district and he had the food seized, the people of Kona began to grumble. The court then moved to Kapaau, Kohala where Kalaniopuu chose a new field for hula and for the games of *ulumaika* (bowling), *pahee* (sliding darts) and other sports. It was while the court was amusing itself that Imakakoloa, a young, handsome and popular chief of Puna refused to pay the taxes of tapa and mats and feathers levied on his district. There was fear that the revolt would spread to an adjoining district. A message was sent to Kiwalao, Kalaniopuu's oldest son, asking him to return from Maui.²⁹

The court moved to the deep mountain valley of Waipio on the Hamakua coast to meet Kiwalao. Upon his arrival, a council of the

chiefs was held. Kiwalao was chosen to rule the land as the heir to Kalaniopuu and have with it the privilege of dedicating the heiaus and all whale ivory which washed ashore would be his property. Kamehameha, Kalaniopuu's nephew, was given the keeping of the god of war, the god of the red feathers and staring pearl eyes whose long feather mane stood in the wind to foretell victory. His name was Kukailimoku. Kamehameha was to owe his allegiance to the son of Kalaniopuu. A heiau called Moaula was re-built in the valley to bring the gods' approval for these decisions.³⁰

Having set the succession in order, Kalaniopuu and his warriors moved against the rebellious Imakakoloa of Puna. Kalaniopuu dedicated heiaus in Hilo, then went on to Kamaoa in Kau to await the capture of the rebel who was being sheltered by the people of his district, who loved him. He had let his hair grow so that it fell to the soles of his feet and by this, he was finally recognized. While waiting for his capture, Kalaniopuu built the heiau of Pakini on which to sacrifice Imakakoloa when he was caught. Kalaniopuu's men grew impatient and angry that the common people had so long successfully hidden their leader and turned to the repressive measures of a scorched earth policy in which all the huts and canoes of the people were burned as a warning.³¹

Imakakoloa was found, whether betrayed or not we do not know, and brought to the altar of the heiau of Pakini to be sacrificed.

On the day for dedicating the heiau to the god all of the people gathered for the event. Kalaniopuu, the council of chiefs, leading warriors and their men, the organizers of supplies, the retainers of the chiefs and the commoners were there. Kiwalao stepped forward forward with the first offerings of bananas and hogs and began the ceremony. After these preliminary offerings, he was to carry up the body of the slain Imakakoloa to place it on the altar as a sacrifice. As Kiwalao went through the prescribed rituals, Kamehameha stepped boldly forward, picked up the body of the slain enemy and offered him to the gods. This completed the freeing of the kapu.³²

Great excitement and astonishment took hold of the chiefs. As Hawaiian historian S. M. Kamakau told the story, they whispered, "He'll have rule over the land." Others were more cautious thinking that since Kiwalao and Kamehameha were close relatives, nothing would be changed. Others said: "He will rebel; better to kill him first." Kalaniopuu heard the mutterings and felt afraid for Kamehameha's life. He suggested that Kamehameha return to his home in Kohala taking his god Kukailimoku with him. Kamehameha's wife Kalola, his younger brother and his god went with him.³³

This act of Kamehameha's in daring to dedicate the body of Imakakoloa on the heiau of Pakini was the act of a young man who was intensely committed to his destiny and must have believed that the gods were also. It may have been that he could not stand by and let honors and the land go to Kiwalao who was superior in blood and kapus but who could not match Kamehameha in strength, war skills, and in the affection of Kalaniopuu.

For a time, Kamehameha lived quietly but industriously in Kohala. He dedicated his small family heiau at Halawa to his god Kukailimoku. The kapus levied by the priests of Kaili were enforced. Many people were burned on the adjoining hill for breaking the kapus. His comrade Miomio explained that "Kamehameha always supposed his success, in every enterprise, to be owing to the strict attention he paid to the service and requirements of his god."³⁴

The village of Halawa stood on the cliff's edge above the crashing waves of the sea. Some time during his youth, Kamehameha had planted groves of noni trees throughout the village area. On one side of the village was the bay of Hapuu and on the Pololu Valley side, the small bay of Kapanaiia. This bay was a good place to launch a canoe but it was down an almost perpendicular cliff. Kamehameha and the companions he gathered about him in the village dug through the rocks and made a roadway slanting down to the sea so that their fishing canoes could be easily pulled up and down. Along the beach there were huge boulders whose tops were chipped out with rows of pukas to make *konane* board. Kamehameha was a determined player and he probably had lots of time while he was in exile to sit at Kapanaiia hunched over the board absorbed in the strategic movement of black and white pebble counters.³⁵

Kamehameha also cultivated his taro fields and his companions followed his example. He worked out an ingenious scheme to bring water from a stream on one side of a narrow ridge to the other side where the terraces lay. Nineteen shafts were dug in the porous lava rock about four feet in diameter and nine to ten feet apart, then men crawled to the bottom of the shafts and dug through to connect them at stream level, forming a tunnel. The water was carried into the tunnel by the momentum from the stream on one side of the ridge and watered the fields on the other side. The decaying and crumbling shafts are still visible at Waiapuka, Kohala. Of these projects, William Ellis, the early English missionary, remarked, "Great undertakings appear to have been his delight, and achievements deemed by others impracticable were those which he regarded as most suitable exercises of his prowess."³⁶

One day, Kamehameha and his brother were at the bay of Kapanāia playing in the surf and enjoying themselves by making love to a woman, when Kekuhaupio arrived from his lands at Kēēi. When his arrival was known, Kamehameha put on a fresh malo and went to the men's meeting house to greet his old comrade. Kekuhaupio brought the news that Kalaniopuu had died and that his son Kiwalao was on his way with other chiefs carrying the body to the burial place at Honaunau. Kekuhaupio chided Kamehameha with wasting his time on women when the time had come to stand and be a soldier and a leader. He advised that if Kiwalao did well by them in the division of lands, then it would be alright, but if they did not get their share the lands should go to the stronger.³⁷

Kamehameha agreed to go with Kekuhaupio to Honaunau to mourn the loss of the chief Kalaniopuu and see which way the lands would fall. They did not fall to his liking and there he began the wars which would take him from youth to age, from Kohala to the whole chain of islands, from a chief among chiefs to the founder of a dynasty which would rule for the next hundred years.³⁸

NOTES

¹ Abraham Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race* (Rutland, Vt., 1969), II, 36-37; Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1961), p. 84.

² Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 24, says, "during the long reign of Kamehameha I., the Hawaii and Maui dynasties had gained a decided preponderance and political supremacy, their versions of legends and genealogies passed undisputed, and it became treason to criticise them."

³ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854* (Honolulu, 1957), p. 430, on the date of Kamehameha's birth, points to an astronomer's discussion of the visibility of Halley's comet at the end of 1758; Kamakau, p. 68; T. Stell Newman, *Hawaiian Fishing and Farming on the Island of Hawaii in A. D. 1778* (Honolulu, 1970), p. 142-144.

⁴ Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 133; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 66.

⁵ Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 134-135.

⁶ John Ii, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (Honolulu, 1959), p. 3; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 67-68.

⁷ 44th HHS Report, 5-18 and Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, p. 429-430, discuss the date of Kamehameha's birth. They settled on the year 1753 as being between the estimates of John Young and Francisco de Paula Marin, men who knew Kamehameha well for many years. I use 1758, Marin's date. The HHS Report suggests that many Hawaiians of this period aged prematurely and that Kamehameha may have been younger than any of the estimates. Psychological insights into the stage of youth in life development described by Erik Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, suggest that Kamehameha acted like a youth from the time he won his first fame as a warrior through the dramatic act at the sacrifice at Pakini; David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (Honolulu, 1951),

p. 136-137. The story that Alapai gave orders to have Kamehameha killed at birth because it was foreseen he was going to be a *keiki kipi* (rebel) and that he was spirited away and hidden in a cave is told by W. D. Alexander, "The Birth of Kamehameha I", *19th HHS Report*, 6-8. This incident was told publicly for the first time in 1911. There is some difficulty in Alapai wanting to kill the child of his own army leader just as they were about to embark on a campaign. It may be that this is a compression into one date of the abduction attempt a few years later and some elements of the Christian nativity story.

- ⁸ Ii, *Fragments*, p. 3; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 67, 70-77; Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 154.
- ⁹ Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 78; Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 145-6; Ii, *Fragments*, p. 4-5, says Alapai gave the kingdom to Kamehameha and that he gave it to Kalaniopuu because he was too young to rule. John Ii was a Kamehameha partisan since he was in the household of Kamehameha's son Liholiho. The youth of Kamehameha at the time of Alapai's death also supports a later birth date for Kamehameha than is usually used.
- ¹⁰ Ii, *Fragments*, p. 6-10.
- ¹¹ Ii, *Fragments*, p. 7.
- ¹² Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 146-147; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 79.
- ¹³ Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 150-151; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 84.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 85-89; Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 151-156; Ii, *Fragments*, p. 10-11.
- ¹⁶ Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 89-90; Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 156. This mele is "Hau-i-Kalani" composed by the bard and prophet Kealumoka after the death of Kalaniopuu. It foretold the rise of Kamehameha to power.
- ¹⁷ Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 90-91; Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 157.
- ¹⁸ Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 95, 97; Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 157, 169, 171.
- ¹⁹ J. C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain Cook on his Voyages of Discovery* (Cambridge, England, 1967), III, Cook, 476, King, 499, Samwell, 1152, 1154; Alan Villiers, *Captain James Cook* (New York, 1967), p. 183.
- ²⁰ Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 97-98; Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 171; Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands* (New York, 1969), p. 32; Beaglehole, *Journals*: King, 500, 512.
- ²¹ Beaglehole, *Journals*: King, 503; Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 171; Beaglehole, *Journals*: Samwell, 1152; John Ledyard, *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage* (Corvallis, Oregon, 1963), p. 103, 129; George Gilbert, "The Death of Captain James Cook," HHS Reprint, No. 5 (Honolulu, 1926).
- ²² Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time* New York. 1968), p. 26-27.
- ²³ Beaglehole, *Journals*: King, 511-512, 613. John Law, surgeon, suggests a rivalry, ft. page 513.
- ²⁴ Beaglehole, *Journals*: King, 512-513; John Webber, illustration "Tereoboo, King of Owyhee, brings presents to Capt. Cook"; Beaglehole, *Journals*: Samwell, 1190.
- ²⁵ Beaglehole, *Journals*: Samwell, 1168-1174.
- ²⁶ Beaglehole, *Journals*: Samwell, 1190.
- ²⁷ Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 195-197; Beaglehole, *Journals*: Samwell, 1215.
- ²⁸ Beaglehole, *Journals*: King, 562.
- ²⁹ Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 105-107; Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 200-201.

- ³⁰ Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 201; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 107; Samue M. Kamakau, *People of Old (Ka Poe Kahiko)* (Honolulu, 1964), p. 12.
- ³¹ Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 201-202; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 108.
- ³² Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 202-203; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 108-109.
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ William Ellis, *A Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1966), p. 278.
- ³⁵ Ellis, *Narrative*, p. 277; Hawaii Division of State Parks, "Historic North Kohala: A Preliminary Survey", 1967, p. 3. Archibald Campbell, *Voyage Around the World from 1806-1812*, (Honolulu, 1967), p. 147 says, "I have seen him sit for hours playing (*konane*) with his chiefs, giving an occasional smile, but without uttering a word."
- ³⁶ Ellis, *Narrative*, p. 277; Emma Lyons Doyle, *Makua Laiana: the Story of Lorenzo Lyons* (Honolulu, 1945), p. 98-99; J. N. S. Williams, "A Little Known Engineering Work in Hawaii", HAA, 1919, p. 121-126.
- ³⁷ Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 303; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 117.
- ³⁸ Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, II, 303-306; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 117-120.